

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:JDAY/NCLEDSKY/WLEAGLETON

APPROVED BY EUR:AAHARTMAN

S/S :RKUCHEL

S:LPBREMER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 233516 TOSEC 140064

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY

SUBJECT:ACTION MEMORANDUM: PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON
LIFTING OF TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO (S/S NO.7519342)
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN

1. THE PROBLEM. WE WISH TO SUBMIT TO THE WHITE HOUSE TWO
DRAFT STATEMENTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S POSSIBLE USE IN
CONNECTION WITH HOUSE ACTION ON S.2230. THE FIRST WOULD BE
USED SHOULD THE HOUSE LIFT THE EMBARGO ON ARMS TO TURKEY.
THE SECOND WOULD BE INTENDED FOR ISSUANCE SHOULD LEGISLA-
TION BE DEFEATED.

2. DISCUSSION. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE CONGRESS APPROVES
S.2230, THE PRESIDENT SHOULD ISSUE A STATEMENT EXPLAINING
THAT THE ADMINISTRATION INTENDS TO MOVE IN FOUR BROAD
AREAS: (A) TO HELP THE PARTIES FIND A SOLUTION TO THE
CYPRUS PROBLEM; (B) TO REBUILD OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP
WITH TURKEY; (C) TO INTENSIFY AID TO THE CYPRIOT REFUGEES;
AND (D) TO DEVELOP A PROGRAM FOR GREECE. SUCH A STATEMENT
COULD HELP BLUNT ADVERSE REACTION IN GREECE AND CYPRUS TO
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THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, AND IT WOULD ALSO HELP TO MAKE

CLEAR THAT WE NOW EXPECT THE TURKS TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY ON CYPRUS. A MUCH SHORTER PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT WOULD ALSO SEEM DESIRABLE IF S.2230 IS DEFEATED BUT THIS STATEMENT WOULD BE AIMED AT LIMITING THE DAMAGE TO US-TURKISH RELATIONS.

3. RECOMMENDATION. EUR RECOMMENDS THAT YOU APPROVE THE FOLLOWING DRAFT STATEMENTS FOR POSSIBLE USE IN CONNECTION WITH S.2230.

4. BEGIN STATEMENT: I WELCOME THE PASSAGE BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES THIS AFTERNOON OF S.2230, WHICH PROVIDES FOR A PARTIAL LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO ON US ARMS FOR TURKEY. I REGARD HOUSE ACTION TODAY AS AN ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP IN THE PROCESS OF REBUILDING A RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST AND FRIENDSHIP WITH BOTH OUR VALUED ALLIES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN -- GREECE AND TURKEY.

5. I AM MINDFUL OF THE DIVISION WITHIN THE CONGRESS AND AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON THIS ISSUE. I REGARD THE VOTE TODAY NOT AS A VICTORY, BUT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK TOGETHER WITH THE CONGRESS ON THE TRAGIC AND DIFFICULT QUESTION OF CYPRUS AND THE VITAL TASK OF RESTORING STABILITY AND SECURITY TO THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

6. NOW THAT THE EMBARGO IS PARTIALLY LIFTED, I INTEND TO TAKE ACTION IN FOUR BROAD AREAS IN THE WEEKS AHEAD. FIRST, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT TO RE-ACTIVATE THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE AEGIS OF UN SECRETARY GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM, AND IN THIS MANNER HELP THE PARTIES FIND A LASTING AND JUST SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. WE SHALL BE CONSULTING WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY AND THE LEADERS OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES ON THE ISLAND IN THE DAYS AHEAD ABOUT HOW BEST TO PROCEED, AND WE SHALL BE PREPARED TO FULFILL WHATEVER ROLE THE PARTIES THEMSELVES WANT US TO PLAY IN FINDING AN ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. WE APPROACH THIS TASK NOT WITH PRECONCEIVED VIEWS, BUT FIRM IN THE BELIEF THAT THE PRINCIPLES SECRETARY KISSINGER ENUNCIATED IN HIS SEPTEMBER 22
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ADDRESS TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY DESERVE THE EARNEST CONSIDERATION OF ALL PARTIES. IN ACCORDANCE WITH S.2230, I SHALL BE SUBMITTING TO THE CONGRESS WITHIN 60 DAYS A REPORT ON THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE TOWARDS A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT.

7. SECONDLY, WE WILL SEEK TO REBUILD OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY. WE WILL NATURALLY ENDEAVOR TO

RESUME OPERATIONS AT OUR IMPORTANT MILITARY FACILITIES IN THAT COUNTRY, BUT WE ARE ALSO SEEKING TO ENSURE THAT TURKEY APPRECIATES THAT ITS MEMBERSHIP IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE AND PARTNERSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES SERVE OUR

COMMON INTERESTS.

8. THIRDLY, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL INTENSIFY ITS COOPERATION WITH APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES AND WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS TO FIND WAYS TO ALLEVIATE THE SUFFERING OF THE THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WHO BECAME REFUGEES DURING THE 1974 HOSTILITIES. THE US GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY PROVIDED 25 MILLION DOLLARS IN RELIEF FOR THE CYPRIOT REFUGEES, AND AN ADDITIONAL 25 MILLION DOLLARS HAS BEEN REQUESTED FOR THIS FISCAL YEAR. THE PLIGHT OF THE REFUGEES MAKES PROGRESS TOWARDS A SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM ALL THE MORE URGENT.

9. FINALLY, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL SOON BEGIN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE TO DETERMINE GREECE'S MOST URGENT NEEDS FOR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE. OVER THE PAST YEAR, WE HAVE WELCOMED THE STEPS TAKEN BY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT AND THE GREEK PEOPLE TO RESTORE DEMOCRATIC RULE TO THE LAND OF ITS BIRTH. WE BELIEVE THAT AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO GREECE IS WARRANTED NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING THAT COUNTRY BUT BECAUSE AS A FRIEND AND AN ALLY, WE WANT TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO STRENGTHEN THE FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, AND OUR COMMON SECURITY INTERESTS. ALSO, IN ACCORDANCE WITH S.2230, I SHALL SUBMIT TO THE CONGRESS WITHIN 60 DAYS OF ITS ENACTMENT MY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GREECE FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1976.

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10. OUR EFFORTS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IN THE MONTHS AHEAD -- TO HELP ACHIEVE A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, TO HELP REBUILD A RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST AND FRIENDSHIP WITH BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY, AND TO ASSIST THESE TWO ALLIES OF OUR TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THEMSELVES -- ARE SURELY GOALS ON WHICH WE CAN ALL AGREE. LET US NOW WORK TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE THEM.

APPROVE ;DISAPPROVE APPROVE WITH CHANGES

BEGIN STATEMENT: THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAS ONCE AGAIN, BY A NARROW MARGIN, REJECTED A BILL THAT WOULD HAVE PARTIALLY LIFTED THE EMBARGO ON ARMS SHIPMENTS TO TURKEY. I DEEPLY REGRET THIS ACTION WHICH COULD HAVE THE MOST SERIOUS AND LONG-TERM EFFECT ON US SECURITY INTERESTS

AND THOSE OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IN THE EASTERN
MEDITERRANEAN. THIS FAILURE TO LIFT THE EMBARGO WILL
ALSO, I FEAR, FURTHER IMPEDE EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A
NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

I VERY MUCH APPRECIATE THE SUSTAINED EFFORTS OF THE
LEADERSHIP OF BOTH PARTIES IN THE CONGRESS AND OF THE
MANY INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS WHO HAVE SEEN THE IMPORTANCE OF
THIS ISSUE AND HAVE DONE ALL THEY COULD TO BRING PASSAGE
OF S.2230.

DESPITE OUR SET BACK, WHICH I BELIEVE IS A SETBACK FOR
GREECE, FOR TURKEY, FOR CYPRUS, FOR THE WESTERN ALLIANCE,
AND FOR THE UNITED STATES, WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH
AND SUPPORT OUR ALLIES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN TO THE
BEST OF OUR ABILITY, AND WE WILL SEEK EARLY REMEDIAL
ACTION IN THE CONGRESS AIMED AT RESTORING CLOSE AND
FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH TURKEY. WE WILL ALSO, WITHIN
THE LIMITATIONS IMPOSED BY CIRCUMSTANCES, CONTINUE TO
SUPPORT THE NEGOTIATION AIMED AT PRODUCING A JUST AND
LASTING SETTLEMENT THAT IS SO NECESSARY TO THE PEACE AND
SECURITY OF THE ENTIRE REGION.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

APPROVE WITH FOLLOWING CHANGES
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